



13 SEP 2007

'A Shared Voice?'

**Assessing the Realities of Community Involvement:
Focus on the Historic Village of Anegundi, Core Zone,
Hampi World Heritage Site, Karnataka, India**

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MSc Built Environment: Sustainable Heritage

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Abstract

The World Heritage Convention ascribes a site with World Heritage Status on the premise of 'outstanding universal value' and management planning which is recommended as having a participatory approach. Within this report concepts of heritage management planning, stakeholder engagement and the Indian heritage industry are discussed in the literature review which provides a framework for the case study of Hampi World Heritage Site, Karnataka, India. In 1999 Hampi UNESCO World Heritage Site was added to the List of World Heritage in Danger. The decisions surrounding this were led by an un-cohesive management plan which resulted in rapidly expanding infrastructure and unmanaged tourism and development within core areas and buffer zones of the site. In 2003 official establishment by special legislation of the Hampi World Heritage Management Authority (HWHMA) was made in order to create an Integrated Management Plan (IMP). As a result of efforts underway on the IMP, the site was removed from the List of World Heritage in Danger in 2006. Within this report the IMP is examined for strengths and weaknesses with regards to levels of community integration. The results are discussed within a critical analysis which questions the applicability of global doctrines within an Indian context. In conclusion, a summary of the results is followed by recommendations and possible guidelines for future community-based management planning at Hampi World Heritage Site, which take a long-term, rather than counteractive view. This body of work is intended to create a platform upon which expert led, and internationally governed guidelines can be assessed for their 'real world' applicability, and how the heritage industry as a whole can address the rapidly expanding field of responsible heritage management within a sustainability paradigm.



Key Words: World Heritage Site, community, management plan, Hampi, India

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Acknowledgements

This report would not have been possible without the kind help of Shama Pawar and Sarath Boyopati, both of whom have been incredibly helpful and patient, showing me the ropes around Hampi, kindly ignoring my attempts at falling out of coracles and taking me to the best swimming spots! The understanding of Indian bureaucracy and government legislation would have been impossible without the assistance of all the kind and infinitely interesting people who I have met along the way in India. Thanks must also be made to Nicole Bolomi, a very busy lady who took time out of her crazy schedule for me. Finally, and most importantly the village of Anegundi, where I was always met with smiles, will remain with me. Thank you!

Introduction

In November 1972 the United Nations for Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) adopted The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (hereinafter referred to as 'the Convention'), which provided the first legal framework for the protection of heritage. The designation of World Heritage Site (WHS) status can be applied to a range of sites which include both the cultural and natural heritage.

In order to become inscribed on the list, a WHS nominee must primarily display evidence of 'outstanding universal value' which is defined in the Operational Guidelines – the working guidelines for implementation of the Convention - as 'cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity' (2005: para. 49). This inscription must also meet one or more of the following criteria which 'evaluate the outstanding universal value of properties' (Operational Guidelines 2005: para. 77):

Criteria	
(i)	represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
(ii)	exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
(iii)	bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
(iv)	be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
(v)	be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
(vi)	be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria) ;
(vii)	contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
(viii)	be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;
(ix)	be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;
(x)	contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.

Table 1. Outstanding Universal Value criteria

(Operational Guidelines 2005)

Vijayanagara, more commonly known as Hampi, was the medieval capital of the Vijayanagara Empire, which ruled over much of South India from AD 1343 to 1565. The city was built as a showpiece of imperial strength and magnificence, attracting traders from as far as Europe and China. The complete site (core, periphery and buffer zones) covers an area of over 100 square kilometres and encompasses scores of monuments and lies on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra River in central Karnataka.

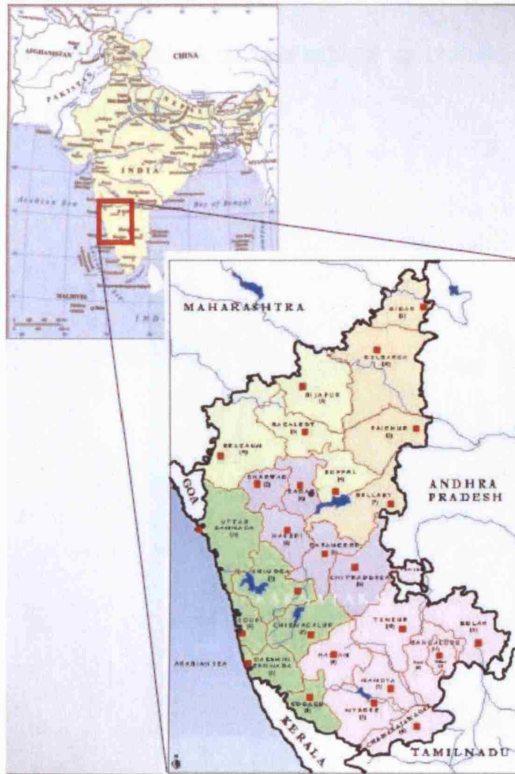


Fig.1 India map.

(HWHMA 2005)



Fig.2 District map.

(HWHMA 2005)

Aside from its regal associations, the site also lies within the sacred kingdom of *Kishkinda* from the Ramayana epic, and as a result, not only comprises civil, royal and secular buildings, but also a wide range of sites with sacred associations and temples, of which several date back to the late 9th century.

The Group of Monuments at Hampi, India, was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1986, under criteria C (i), (iii) and (iv) (See Table 1). In 1999 Hampi UNESCO World Heritage site was added to the List of World Heritage in Danger. The decisions surrounding this were based on a non-cohesive conservation management plan, which resulted in rapidly expanding infrastructure within core areas and buffer zones of the site, and unmanaged tourism and development. In 2003 the Hampi World Heritage Management Authority (HWHMA) composed of the Central Government (Archaeological Survey of

India - ASI), Karnataka State Government, local authorities, community representatives and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's) was officially established by special legislation. This was initially created to bring cohesion to the management of the site, which until then had been overseen by a disparate group of stakeholders. The HWHMA is now well on its way to completing an Integrated Management Plan (IMP) and as a result of this positive action Hampi was removed from the World Heritage at Danger List in 2006.

However, the influx of tourism has led to a substantial increase of illegal construction in the core zone, with squatters taking up residence and creating commercial space in and around the historic structures:



Fig.3 Occupation of historic bazaar, Hampi.
(Photograph by Author 2007)



Fig.4 Occupation of historic structure, Hampi.
(Photograph by Author 2007)

The IMP therefore is created to fulfil the requirement of the World Heritage Committee (WHC), which state in its Operational Guidelines the requirements for site management planning. 'Each nominated property should have an appropriate management plan or other documented management system which should specify how the outstanding universal value of a property should be preserved, preferably through participatory means' (Operational Guidelines 2005: para. 108). In addition to this the Operational Guidelines also state that all management plans should include 'the involvement of partners and stakeholders, and capacity building elements' (2005: para. 117).

Bearing these factors in mind, this report will provide an account of the current IMP for Hampi, and review it in light of WHC recommendations for community involvement, and assess to what extent these are integrated in the site's management. Specifically, the aims include:

- To assess the extent of the application of World Heritage Convention guidelines regarding community integration at Hampi (focusing on Anegundi village);
- To consider how and to what extent the voice of the community is heard in the HWHMA Integrated Management Plan;
- To examine community integration efforts by other local NGO's;
- To establish what external factors are affecting community involvement – socioeconomic factors, infrastructure, development and demographics, within an Indian context.

In order to address the above aims, this report provides the reader with a literature review, giving a framework upon which this analysis and case study of Hampi is placed, with particular reference to the inhabitants of the village of Anegundi, within the Hampi core zone. This review highlights current issues in community involvement and stakeholder engagement at heritage sites, and how these factors relate to all aspects of sustainability (cultural, social, environmental and economic), site management, and development. The Anegundi case study will be looked at in light of the HWHMA IMP and efforts of other NGO's in order to assess the realities of stakeholder engagement. The findings will then be

discussed in light of current heritage policy as based in Western ideologies, and India's development issues and colonial legacy. In conclusion, a summary of the issues at hand will be discussed with recommendations for a future heritage framework. Rather than being critical of the valiant efforts underway in India both by local and international agencies, my hope is to create a basis upon which the ideologies and notions of 'experts' and traditional 'seekers of truth' through traditional curatorial and archaeological methods can be questioned and thus attempt to create applicable solutions to sometimes very complex issues within principles of sustainable development.

Methodology & Limitations

Due to the qualitative nature of the research topic, the basis of information gathering was listening to the opinions of others, and gaining a real understanding of the cultural, social and economic aspirations and values of the people who will directly be affected by the Hampi IMP. Therefore, a range of interviews were conducted, mainly in an informal setting, which I felt to be most appropriate.

Because the Hampi core zone is home to 12 villages with over 30,000 inhabitants, it was not possible to make an appraisal of all the communities in order to assess stakeholder engagement. Therefore the village of Anegundi, which lies in the core zone was chosen, as it is directly threatened by urban construction and civil engineering programmes, and also contains within it a number of monuments and ancient temples. The village community is also unique to the site as it is believed that they are in fact the only direct descendents of the Vijayanagara Empire (Vergheze 2000: 42).

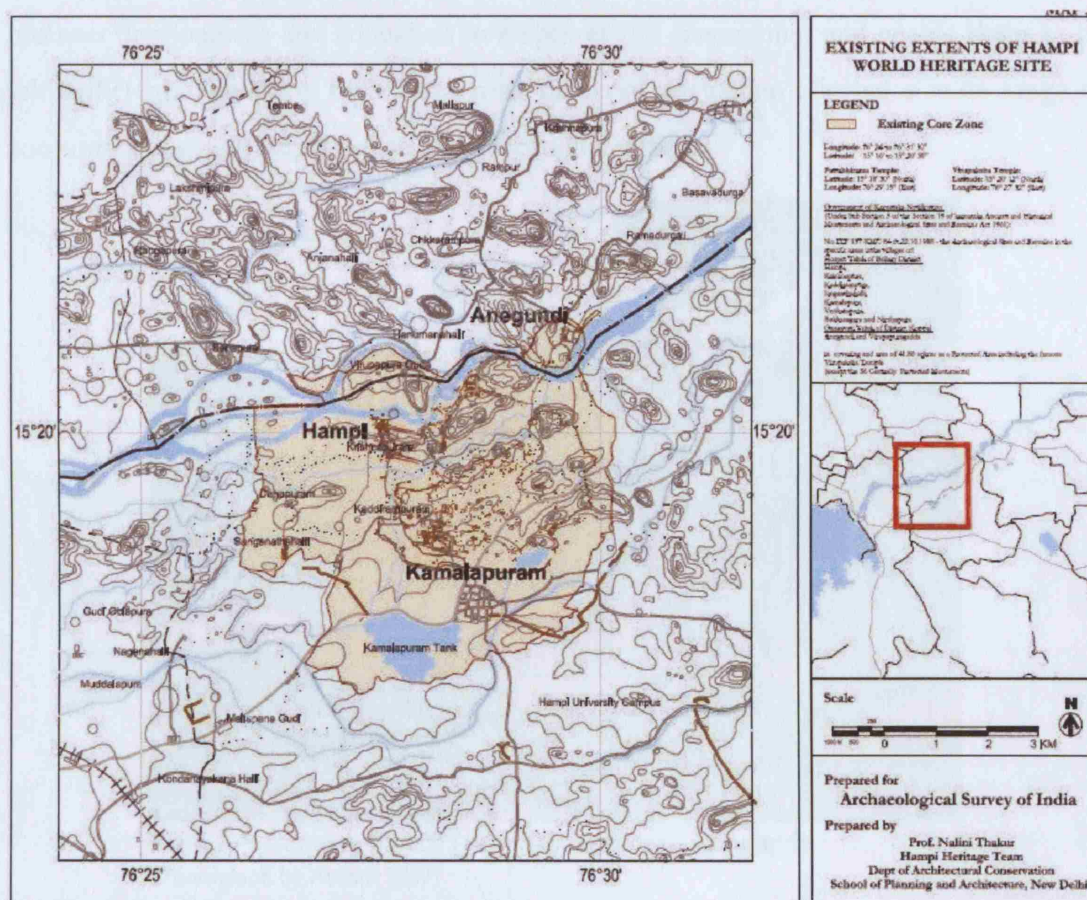


Fig.5 Map of Hampi World Heritage Site – Core Zone.

(HWHMA 2005)

Fig.6 Ancient *Mandapa*, Anegundi.

(Photograph by Author 2007)

For the duration of my stay in Anegundi I was able, through the kind help of the Kishkinda Trust (TKT), to get to know and spend time with community groups and the local *panchayat*¹ (village council). This trust is a grassroots NGO which operates through small business development and education to empower the community, and enable them to be self sufficient. Therefore, their links with the local population allowed a wide range of encounters in social, employment, and educational settings.

Fig.7 17th Century Palace (*panchayat* offices), Anegundi.

(Photograph by Author 2007)

¹ A *panchayat* is a council of elected members acting as liaisons between the local government and the people. These individuals are responsible for the social, cultural and economic wellbeing of the village they represent. (Rizvi 2006:414)

My time was spent getting to know the village and environs, and speaking with the various groups in order to gain an understanding of how *they* viewed the Hampi site and current management, what significance the site held for them and what aspirations they had. Interviews were held informally, and sometimes comprised large groups, but more often were one-on-one. Interviews were held with the *Raja* (local king), village women, *panchayat*, youth, musicians, business people – rickshaw drivers, shopkeepers and boatmen.



Fig.8 Panchayat meeting.
(Photograph by D. Stewart 2007)



Fig.9 Women's banana fibre cottage
industry. (Photograph by Author 2007)

In addition to research carried out in the village, assistance was also provided by Sarath Boyopati, a Conservation Architect working for HWHMA on the IMP. Access to the HWHMA library allowed me to view the IMP and other documents relating to the site, which included research and conservation reports, census data, planning applications, and other civil and civic engineering project proposals.

After this time spent in Hampi, meetings in Delhi with ASI and UNESCO provided an opportunity to ask further questions which had been raised during the time in Hampi. Subsequent encounters and interviews with various NGO's operating in different parts of the country also allowed for a broader perspective on community empowerment and engagement in rural India.

This research was carried out against a framework of current thinking, most of which is provided in the literature review, and is garnered from international fora and texts dealing with issues of development, and how cultural and social sustainability can exist away from current economic development paradigms. In order to bring it into an Asian context, elements of the literature research cover topics dealing with India specifically, and include

themes of social and cultural development, government post-independence, and the colonial legacy of heritage preservation.

The limitations to my research mainly stemmed from restricted resources that prevented me from spending more time in India and thus, speaking with a wider range of people. In addition to this, the very nature of qualitative information gathering can inhibit accurate representations – it is not possible to ask everyone everything! Another obvious restriction when conducting research in a foreign culture is the basic requirement of understanding the world in which the interviewees live. In this circumstance, staying within the village of Anegundi, eating with the community, enjoying their festivals, and joining in with meetings and informal gatherings aided this endeavour. Despite my part-Indian heritage, growing up away from India has created a chasm in my understanding which I was eager to bridge, and which led me to try and understand as much about the people themselves as about what it was they were saying. A no less important, yet unplanned for hindrance to the research gathering was the extreme weather conditions during the time of my visit – torrential rain and subsequent problems caused by this resulted in communication difficulties (no phone/email, unable to cross the river to and from Anegundi), and limited access within the village.

In order for interviews of such an emotive nature to be accurate in their portrayal, the questions asked have to be targeted correctly, and allow the person being interviewed a safe space in which to answer the question in an open, non-confrontational or subjective way. To this end I tried my best, however I suspect that further work in the field may improve these skills. It is also important to mention here that some interviewees asked to remain anonymous, so direct named referencing has not been possible for all data provided. In these circumstances the interviewee’s background or host organisation is referenced.

The state language of Karnataka is Kannada, however, this was not problematic as I was provided with interpretation as and when it was required. All meetings held at HWHMA, ASI, UNESCO and TKT were in English.

The information garnered throughout this process is based predominantly in a qualitative context, however quantitative data gathering was also necessary with regards to investigating development benchmarks, and viewing the data gathered against global standards and legal parameters for heritage protection.

Literature Review

Heritage Management & Management Plans

It has been posited that the roots of Heritage management were born 'of a post war 'western' environment, in a time of immense political, economic, social and technological changes' (Cleere 2000), which cultivated a more monument centric approach to heritage preservation (Jokilehto and King 2000; Galla 2002; Sullivan 2003; Engelhardt 2004; Taylor 2004; Leask and Fyall 2006). This environment produced charters and ethical guidelines which were the result of UN conventions and affiliated associations, the most renowned being the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites of 1964, more commonly referred to as the Venice Charter. The Venice Charter and its predecessor the Athens Charter, are commonly referred to as the bedrock or basis for heritage care and preservation (Matero 1993; Menon 2003; Sullivan 2003; Bumbaru 2004) as they were the first global policies which outlined strategies and ethical guidelines for conservation. However, the concept of site management and management planning was not created through either of these charters, which in fact do not even mention the word 'management', and 'plan' is only used in another sense (UNESCO 2004).

The first attempt to comprehensively put together guidelines for management of World Heritage properties was in 1983, which resulted ten years later in the first management guidelines in 1993 (Fielden and Jokilehto 1998).

The prescribed prerequisite of management planning as devised by the WHC has meant that sites previously without management plans need to create them, and sites which may very well be worthy of WHS inscription may fail in their application without the aforesaid management planning. At this point we come up against the direct consequences of creating a policy which may be easier in theory than in practice to implement (Feilden 1998), – by imposing a WHC-worthy management plan, traditional or cultural management systems can be marginalized, and as a result, become obsolete (Edroma 2003; Sullivan 2003; Khaznadar 2004; Smith 2006). In addition to this, the traditional stakeholders of a site may be sidelined in an effort by 'experts' to create a WHS application (Saouma-Forero 2000; Khaznadar 2004; Ota 2004). When discussing the language and implications of the WHC,

Sullivan (2003:51) has argued that it 'tends to represent [them] as passive recipients of heritage practice and as people to be manipulated or educated to appreciate and conserve heritage rather than being seen as its prime creators and owners'. This view is reflected in other academic discourse relating to heritage models in developing countries: 'projects are often conceived by outside 'experts' and imposed on local communities...local knowledge contrasts with international knowledge systems, which are largely based on western scientific knowledge' (Kreps 2003:8).

The aim of site management according to the WHC is to 'ensure that the outstanding universal value, the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity at the time of inscription are maintained or enhanced in the future' (Operational Guidelines 2005: para.96) which has led to the questioning of 'universal value' applicability (Darvill in Cooper et al 1995; Greffe 2001; Aplin 2002; Smith 2006;). What happens when the values of the local community differ from those assigned 'universal values'? Whose values should be addressed and whose heritage is it? Can any management plan accommodate these often disparate systems?

A result of this questioning is an assessment of the juxtaposition of values faced at this intersection where global policy has to meet a local agenda (see Taylor, 2004; Edroma 2003; Rössler 2003; Smith and Wobst 2005). One solution offered to this problem is the creation of management planning systems that do not solely fit the requisite protection of 'universal value', but also address the often intangible values found at the local level (Jokilehto 1998; de Merode et al. 2003; Engelhardt 2005; Stovel 2005) however, despite this widening perspective, according to English (2000), the fact of defining intangible values is not culturally neutral: it comes from the western scientific tradition. But, it has also been argued that without defining intangible values in some way it would be virtually impossible for them to influence management (Bas Verschuuren 2005). The solution offered is acknowledging multiple values. But *how* can this be done? The answer lies in a community-centric and therefore values-based approach to management planning. Based on democratic principles, participatory approaches aim to bridge the gap between outside professionals and local community members, suggesting that the 'knowledge and skills of the local people hold as much value as those of 'experts'' (World Bank 1996 in Kreps 2003:115).

Stakeholder Engagement Theory

The concept of creating management plans which accommodate the local values ascribed to them is also a result of recent discourse relating to general environmental sustainability in addition to awareness of intangible values (Luxen 2000; Rössler 2003; Logan 2004). The value of the intangible is often ascribed to 'traditional' owners or local communities in association with a site, which lies in direct contrast to the previously promoted materialistic heritage values laid out in the Venice and Athens charters (Aplin 2002; Sullivan 2003; Smith 2004).

Direct responses which address the promotion of intangible values have included the Burra Charter (1999), the 2006 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, The Budapest Declaration (2002), and the Nara document on Authenticity (1994) which states in its preamble that 'is conceived in the spirit of the Charter of Venice, and builds on it and extends it in response to the expanding scope of cultural heritage concerns and interests in our contemporary world' (ICOMOS 1994). This recognition of wider values within heritage planning aims to prevent models imposed on communities which are 'often seen as alien institutions, existing for outside interests and purposes' (Kreps 2003:115).

Recognising the importance of rejecting 'top-down' approaches to managing heritage, Magar states;

Conservation is no longer considered as the monopoly of a group of experts. Cultural heritage belongs to all, and members of local communities have important roles to play, both in the decision making process (...) and in long-term continuous care, to ensure the preservation of both the tangible and intangible aspects which form our heritage. (Magar 2005:93)

This view is reflected elsewhere (Hodges and Watson 2000; de Merode et al. 2003; Aas et al. 2005; Waterton et al 2006), and as a direct response, methodologies for inclusiveness are also now at the fore. Degrees of community involvement can range from paid labour at archaeological sites (Cleere 2000; Mapunda and Lane in Merriman 2004) to capacity building for direct community management with 'experts' simply playing the role of facilitators (Kaldun 2003). This has led to a heritage management sphere which is complex

and often expensive to implement (de la Torre 2005); 'among the factors contributing to this complexity are the expansion and scope of heritage, and trend to look for solutions in market approaches, and the growing participation of new groups in heritage decisions' (de la Torre 2005:4). The inclusion of community and stakeholders is also addressed in the Operational Guidelines (2005: para. 111), however suggestions as to *how* this is done are not provided:

- 111. In recognizing the diversity mentioned above, common elements of an effective management system could include:**
- (a) a thorough shared understanding of the property by all stakeholders;
 - (b) a cycle of planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and feedback;
 - (c) the involvement of partners and stakeholders;
 - (d) the allocation of necessary resources;
 - (e) capacity-building; and
 - (f) an accountable, transparent description of how the management system functions.

Fig.10 Operational Guidelines (2005; Para. 111).

Critical to the implementation of the collaborative approach is the identification and legitimisation of all potential stakeholders (Aas et al 2005) which is widely recognised as being a complicated task (Reed 1997; Hodges and Watson 2000; Merriman 2004; Rizvi 2006).

Criticism of stakeholder participation has also stemmed from 'attempts being perceived as tokenistic' (Smith 2004:29). Although there has been some positive feedback to community involvement (Kelly 1979, 1980; Tjamiwa 1992; Xiberras and du Cros 1992 in Smith 2004), more often Indigenous people learned or gained little concrete benefit from it. 'Recent criticism of archaeological consultation practice has stressed that many archaeologists do not 'listen' to or negotiate, with Indigenous people, and have characterised consultation processes as 'just telling'' (Smith 2004:29).

International heritage agencies are stated by Taylor to have 'globalising tendencies', and as a result they stand accused of 'imposing a common stamp on culture across the world and their policies creating a logic of global cultural uniformity' (Taylor 2004:419). In order to

counteract such globalising tendencies Russell (1997) proposes an approach to heritage that is both community-based and an expression of cultural and economic development, which when regarded in an Indian development context provides a useful guide:

Some of the key ingredients are a concern for the community and its well-being, particularly as determined by the members themselves; concern for the total environment, including cultural heritage, with a recognition that it plays a strong role in defining the community; and an exploration of the ways in which local heritage can be used constructively in shaping the future. (Russell 1997:78)

The concept of community involvement has immediate links with sustainable heritage, as through social and cultural sustainability, a site can express diversity. Much like biodiversity 'so critical to the physical environment as a genetic repository and pool of adaptive evolutionary strategies, has its social counterpart in cultural diversity' (Low 2004:50).

Cultural Heritage and Development

The link between cultural heritage and development are addressed in the Nara Document (1994: Article 5) 'The protection and enhancement of cultural and heritage diversity in our world should be actively promoted as an essential aspect of human development', and the Budapest Declaration; '...heritage [is] an instrument for the sustainable development of all societies through dialogue and mutual understanding' (2002: Article 1).

The link between culture, people and sustainable development is widely recognised elsewhere (Trotzig in Cleere 2000; Galla 2002; Low 2004; Smith 2004; Aas et al 2005; Saraswati 2005; Streeten 2006) however, when discussing culture and development, current economic norms of establishing development have to be sidelined in favour of modern development theory (Riddell 1989).

Culture has become the fountain of progress and a key element in the development process. This change in outlook has been associated with a shift from thinking about development in a purely material or commodity-centred terms to an approach oriented towards human development. (Streeten 2006:401)

In discussing conservation and development in India, Riddell states 'In any context where there is a high profile to poverty, conservation for limited objectives is an extravagance; whereas development with conservation contributes to the alleviation of poverty' (1989:9). In the case of Hampi, a site in rural India, the issues of development both in material and cultural terms cannot be ignored. Therefore, in order for the proposed management plan to be applicable and appropriate it needs to not only involve the community, but also hold their values and their values relating to the site paramount within a sustainable development paradigm.

Indian Heritage Practices

Within south Asia itself, there are further restrictions on the use of 'universal' definitions, as a result of an under-funded conservation industry, a colonial legacy habitually acted out by ASI (Guha-Thakurta 2004), a unique socio-cultural situation and politically motivated government-led initiatives;

Much of our extant 'wisdom' about conservation comes to us from the West, in particular the Venice Charter, drawn up in the wake of the Second World War. In its essence, the framework privileges the structure over the site and experts over people. In multicultural contexts such as ours an uncritical application of international canons can create problems. (Sethi 2003:7)

Therefore, the 'uniqueness' of the complexities of south Asian culture and fabric of society require new mandates or definitions which until now have been developed by 'western' nations, and 'by seeking to pursue ideals developed in other cultural and economic contexts in the belief that they are 'universal', conservation policies are trying to put square pegs in round holes' (Menon 2003 p.12).

The cultural heritage industries of the Asian subcontinent have an additional burden, in the form of a heritage preservation ideology legacy of British colonialist rule. Until the advent of British rule 'there was a well-established network of architects and craftsmen who not only constructed new buildings but also took care of the older buildings etc' (Cheema

2004:9), and until that time 'The concept and nature of what was to be conserved, became different from previously held conceptions. The object of conservation during the colonial period underwent changes of function to suit the colonizers' (Cheema 2004:12).

The impact of this colonial legacy can be found in current state legislation pertaining to heritage which was most recently updated in 1958 under the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act. As Menon suggests:

ASI (...) operates within a blinkered world view, oblivious to the larger context. In this respect the ASI Act of 1958, for example, is the same mutatis mutandis as the already outdated 1904 Act formulated by the British. In other words the ASI's relationship to Indian architectural heritage mirrored that of the Raj. (Menon 2003:3)

Leading up to the 1958 Act, national frustration with the state of Indian conservation was apparent, as expressed by Ananda Coomaraswamy, a pioneering mid century historian and philosopher of Indian art:

India affords the most tragic spectacle of the world, since we see there a living and magnificent organisation, akin to, but infinitely more complete than that of medieval Europe, still in the process of destruction(...)one questions sometimes whether it would be wiser to accelerate the process of destruction than attempt to preserve the broken fragments of the great tradition. (Coomaraswamy 1947 in Bapat 2005: 3)

As a result of the somewhat 'static' state of archaeological preservation afforded by the state, a new generation of heritage practitioners, such as The Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH), are moving into the foreground, and developing their own form of ethical and heritage preservation guidelines (Thapar in Allchin 1989; Thapar in Cleere 2000).

Ghandian principles of *swaraj*² have more recently also been incorporated into south Asian discourse relating to heritage and development, which seeks change from within, negating the need for external support or rule (Saraswati 2005). This ideology has resulted in decentralisation of the heritage industry which is increasingly moving into the private, NGO and educational spheres, operating often at a grassroots level (Gadgil 1989).

² Although a highly contentious political issue concerning Indian Nationalism, the idea of *swaraj* here is merely used as a term denoting a concept of independence as opposed to anarchy. For more see Baidyanath Saraswati *Cultures and Development* at <http://ignca.nic.in/cd-05005.htm>

Set against this global and national context, the Hampi IMP has been commissioned by ASI and is created through the integrated efforts of the HWHMA. The focus of the IMP 'has been to realise the potential that is present within the existing state administration and governance for absorption of protection and management measures through discreet changes and modification to existing official structure' (Thakur 2007:31).

Findings

In order to assess the realities of community involvement within the confines of Hampi, and to a greater extent, an Indian context, data was gathered from three main sources; the draft IMP for Hampi, the local community and TKT and larger national and international bodies, such as ASI in Delhi and the UNESCO Delhi field office.

The Hampi Integrated Management Plan

As mentioned previously, this IMP is a direct result of pressure from the WHC, as advised by UNESCO Delhi field Office, and ICOMOS. It was believed that an IMP was necessary to address a range of threats directly affecting the site. The WHC at its 23rd session of 1999, made the following decision:

In view of the ascertained and potential dangers threatening the integrity and authenticity of the site, the Committee requested the national authorities concerned to urgently elaborate a comprehensive conservation, management and development plan, with the assistance of ICOMOS and the World Heritage Centre. (ICOMOS 2007:6)

This decision led to ASI commissioning the IMP which has been formulated by Professor Nalini Thakur of the School of Architecture and Planning, New Delhi. The team compiling the IMP are composed of Conservation Architects who are either current or ex-students of Professor Thakur. After three years of working on the plan, it has now (as of early 2007) reached a draft stage to be reviewed upon completion by ICOMOS next year. The IMP currently incorporates six volumes which run to over 1500 pages, and as an addendum also incorporates a Master Plan prepared for the state planning authorities, incorporating another thirteen volumes. The purpose of the IMP is to address the issues above, and 'attempt to integrate to the philosophy of World Heritage Convention '72 and the operational guidelines with the existing Indian official, administrative and constitutional systems by addressing the true needs of the heritage resources and the local living community of Hampi' (HWHMA 2005:5). Ultimately, the IMP attempts to change the paradigm from colonial to democratic and develop a management system appropriate to the Indian reality.

The IMP directly addresses issues of community integration within *Volume I Integrated Management Plan for World Heritage Site Hampi*, in which it states 'the Management Plan should be conceived as a process in which the needs of various stakeholders, including the local community, are integrated and conflicts are resolved through dialogue, so that everyone can contribute positively towards protection and management of the site and also get appropriate economic benefits' (HWHMA 2005:22). However, rather alarmingly, the abilities of the local populace are questioned: 'a lack of local participation is linked to lack of skills and ability of the local people to comprehend the issues and decision-making process. This is mainly due to lack of education' (HWHMA 2005:52). It subsequently states in the 'Aims of Local Participation':

- *To ensure that local participation is not reduced to a few stakeholders' meetings.*
- *To provide an opportunity for equitable participation of all sections of the local community and make them a part of the continuous process in preparation, implementation and monitoring of the management plan for the site.*
- *To ensure the role of the local governance under the Panchayati Raj Act of Karnataka State in the management of HWWA. (HWHMA 2005:75)*

As a result of this holistic paradigm, which appears to favour the voices of many, the HWHMA has carried out extensive research of the site, and proposes it as a 'Cultural Landscape', taking into account its many intangible and living systems:

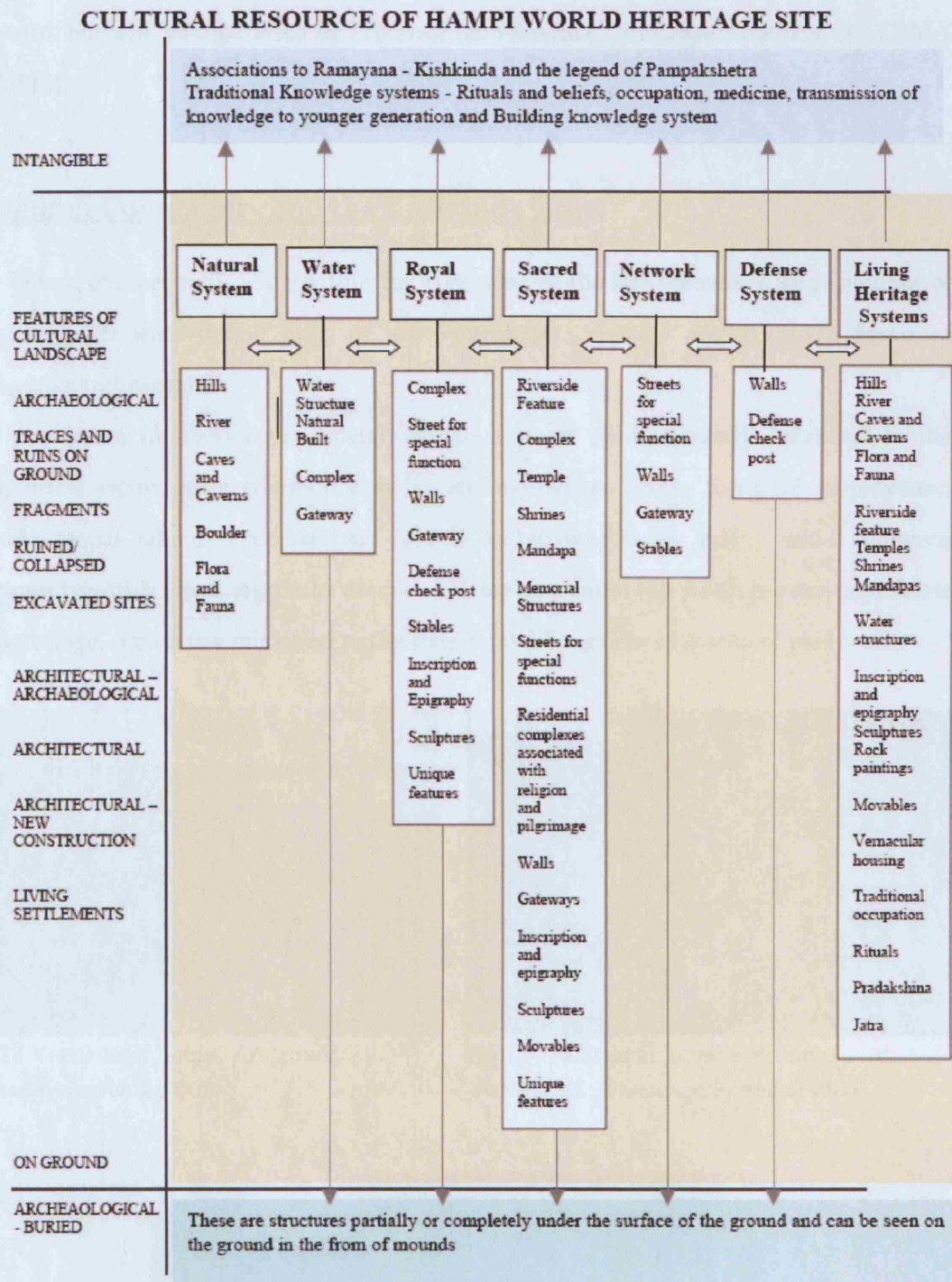


Fig.11 HWHMA Cultural Resource Diagram

(HWHMA 2006)

The only reference within the IMP, as yet, towards an actual *plan* for community integration is the following; 'Workshops at Village Level – Firstly the villages have to be identified and then workshops held with the local community. This will be a series of

workshops' (HWHMA 2005:114), Details or timeframes for these workshops are not proposed, but will 'be supervised by Professor Ram Sharma, Landscape Architect' (HWHMA 2005:115).

Anegundi Community and the Kishkinda Trust

The village of Anegundi, lying within the core zone of the site contains a large amount of historic monuments dating back to the Vijayanagara Empire and it's own forms of vernacular architecture.

The population numbers approximately 2,900, who are predominantly employed in the agricultural sector, most commonly as farmer/landowners. Other forms of employment include casual labour, shop keepers, a few rickshaw drivers, and a small religious community within the Ranganatha temple. Unemployment of the youth is a major problem in the village, with a few migrating to the state capital Bangalore in search of paid work.



Fig.12 Vernacular house, Anegundi.
(Photograph by Author 2007)



Fig.13 Traditional house entrance,
Anegundi. (Photograph by Author 2007)



Fig.14 Ancient monument, Anegundi.
(Photograph by Author 2007)



Fig.15 14th Century north gate, Anegundi.

(Photograph by Author 2007)



Fig.16 Ancient monument, Anegundi.

(Photograph by Author 2007)

In order to tackle this unemployment and work toward community management of the heritage site, in early 2006, TKT established a training course in tourism for the youth of

Anegundi. This course was fully funded, and incorporated research trips throughout Karnataka in conjunction with the State University of Karnataka. Shama Pawar, Director of TKT gives an outline of the results:

This course was created to encourage the young men to work and was KSTDC accredited, but there was no take up. All the applicants came from outside Anegundi. Why? Because these people won't work outdoors, they want computer and mobile phone. They even actually asked us to pay them to do the course. They expect others to pay for everything. (Pawar. Interview. 14 July 2007).

As a result, the course has been shelved until further notice.

When asked at the village *panchayat* meeting what their hopes and aspirations were, the youth who had attended remained mute. Reasons for this possibly related to strict hierarchies which exist within the community, "those boys never speak, they don't want to show their views in front of the *panchayat* elders, but when we call for a meeting just with them they never show" (Pawar. Interview. 14 July 2007)³.

Regarding the care of monuments within Hampi, the community members queried (youth, *panchayat*, women, and *raja*) expressed a positive view of the monuments:

We love our monuments but have no control over them because they are under state control. When we have asked them for help in the past we were ignored. We need the gate and fortifications fixed. Hampi village gets so much attention, none is left for us. (Panchayat member. Interview, from translation. 17 July 2007).

This mistrust of external agencies was also reflected by other members of the community:

"Before 'we' the people took care of the monuments, now if something falls down I cannot bring it into my compound for safety as it is illegal – now when things fall over people just steal it for building (...) We write to ASI but they never replied. When UNESCO comes, all they wanted to do was harass the community and tell us what our culture is. They say 'do this, do that, knock that down' but at the same time give us no guidelines.

Nalini has made the first part of the IMP – now there has been no action. Where are our guidelines? " (Raja. Interview. 9 July 2007)

³ This was also highlighted to me during my stay as numerous meetings were arranged and either due to bad weather or other unknown reasons, were not attended by the youth.

"All the ASI does is stop us from going in the monuments. They put up wall and fence and plant garden top make it look nice". (Kumar, Rickshaw driver. Interview. 2 July 2007)

"We contacted INTACH about our house but after their first visit they ignored us completely. I thought they were holding a design competition with their students to restore our house". (Homeowner. Interview, from translation. 2 July 2007)

"Everybody only thinks about their own interests, why can't we? The big money, big people, politicians and bureaucrats are not connected to us, they are not our well-wishers, they only think about themselves. Maybe they have other motives – all I can say is that they are not our friends". (Shopkeeper. Interview. 11 July 2007)



Fig.17 ASI protected monument, Kamalamapuram, Hampi.
(Photograph by Author 2007)



Fig.18 Ancient monument, Anegundi.

(Photograph by Author 2007)



Fig.19 Salvaged temple carvings, Anegundi.

(Photograph by Author 2007)

At separate meetings with the women and *panchayat*, the question was posed whether *they* would like to be involved and possibly be trained to care for the monuments themselves. The general consensus was that, yes, they would like to be involved, but that “No, we would like to have external funding and *they* take care of the site” (Interview, from translation. 12 July 2007).

The TKT has attempted to rebuild confidence within the community by following through on proposals, an example of which being the coracles across the Tungabhadra – the only way of reaching the village without using a 50km bypass road:



Fig.20 Anegundi coracle crossing over Tungabhadra (and incomplete suspension bridge).
(Photograph by Author 2007)



Fig.21 Coracles and *mandapa*, Anegundi.

(Photograph by Author 2007)

These coracles and maintenance materials were supplied by TKT, however, “even though we did that they still came back asking for more money” (Pawar. Interview. 13 July 2007). Academics have posed that these coracle families are the direct descendants of the families who produced and used these boats since the days of Vijayanagara, whether or not this is true, when asked what their thoughts were on the bridge being continued⁴, they said “it does not matter, we can always find something else to do. I don’t like being wet all the time, and monsoon is hard” (Interview from translation. 12 July 2007).

Within Anegundi the idea of rural tourism as a source of income and heritage management has been discussed, but consensus has yet to be reached. An initial effort by TKT resulted in a tourist information centre, however it is the belief of the community that “without [sic] computer we cannot operate” (*Panchayat* member. Interview. 13 July 2007). When the proposal was made for creating a simple pamphlet for visitors, it was deemed too unprofessional, therefore the centre remains unused.



Fig.22 Tourism information centre, Anegundi.
(Photograph by Author 2007)

Efforts are also made by the HWHMA and TKT in restoring the vernacular buildings of the village into eco lodges for tourists or cultural centres for the community, however despite one success, the remainder of rebuilding in the village is concerned with agriculture and

⁴ The cable suspension bridge crossing the Tungabhadra to Anegundi has recently been permitted by UNESCO to go ahead, but with limitations on vehicle size.

concrete dwellings without regard for the ancient monuments interspersed throughout the village. A reason for this was posed by a member of the HWHMA team “you know, people cannot care about heritage on an empty stomach, they need to have jobs first and not be at the mercy of tourism or crops (...) they need to be self sufficient. When they do have funds for building they want ‘modern’ concrete”. (Interview. 20 July 2007)



Fig.23 Residential construction, Anegundi.
(Photograph by Author 2007)



Fig.24 Modern house, Anegundi.
(Photograph by Author 2007)



Fig.25 Modern house, Anegundi.
(Photograph by Author 2007)

Other factors affecting cultural continuation within the community relate to issues of development. Anegundi has electricity for approximately 6 hours per day and is connected by road to larger towns, which have been attributed to the growing trend away from local cultural systems and beliefs; “When I was young my parents would tell us stories about our family, my son now only wants to watch TV. This is modernity and progress” (Raja. Interview. 19 July 2007); discussions with a local musician also reflected this view, “Local people are not interested, on Sunday there are lots of movies on TV. The only people who

are interested are middle class tourists and foreigners". (Interview. 19 July 2007)

In the latter part of August, a series of stakeholder meetings were arranged by the HWHMA, in order to gain consensus regarding tourism management of the region. These meetings were arranged by ASI and HWHMA, and were attended by the 'local population'. When asked for clarification of the players involved, Sarath Boyopati of HWHMA provided an account:

What we did is mainly with local people i.e. the people who reside there and people who are related to that place and people who visit that place including tourists and (...) the people invited to the stakeholder meetings are also the above one [sic]. (Boyopati. Personal communication. 2 September 2007)

However, when asked who actually attended, it appeared as though the set-up of these meetings had detrimental effects:

There were those who hesitated to attend the meeting as it was in a big conference hall with press people and politicians, so I don't think we had as many people as we wanted. (Boyopati. Personal communication. 4 September 2007)

These series of meetings were held in a hotel in Hospet town which is approximately 25km from the Hampi site.

National and International Opinion

Within India, the motivations and reality of community involvement appear to be complex, which was reinforced by discussions held with state and national officials. This was reflected in the views of the HWHMA and TKT:

How do you integrate the community is the first question. I think that it is there in the existing system of governance but it is misused like people are represented by elected representatives who in turn are the decision makers supported by bureaucrats. Unfortunately the agencies and elected representatives don't work together to do good work for integrated development. (HWHMA. Personal communication. 20 August 2007)

However, it was then asked if this was being tackled by involving other non-government related agencies:

No, the Stakeholder meetings were conducted by Archaeological Survey of India attended by the members preparing IMP and people from the Hampi World Heritage Area but [ASI] don't know how to work along with people. Their definition of protection means eviction of all people out of the historic structure lay a fence around it and do what ever they want. (HWHMA. Personal communication. 20 August 2007)

The same questions were posed to ASI themselves, a spokesperson for the Architectural Heritage Team outlined ASI's stance on community involvement and the realities of such policy in India:

Involving women is pointless, because as soon as they get home the husband says 'no'. Community involvement is an 'indulgent gimmick' which cannot operate in India because no one is trustworthy (...) hierarchies exist at all levels. Panchayats can be heard at the village level but they are always ignored at the state level. Everyone mistrusts each other and has their own agendas – politics power etc. No one can be trusted here. The pressure only comes from top down; there is no knowledge or research to grass roots levels. Are we just supposed to do what UNESCO says? Besides, the new buzzword we have to contend with now is 'monitoring'. We simply do not have the time or resources to follow such 'trends'. (ASI. Interview. 21 July 2007)

The concepts of mistrust and hierarchies are also echoed by other NGO's operating in India. The excerpt below is from a conversation with the director of a well known NGO operating in Rajasthan, which has similar goals to TKT;

The only way anything gets done in this country is by taking place away from the government – otherwise nothing would get done. You have to understand that NGO's are 100% tax exempt, and up to 70% of these are operating as businesses disguised as NGO's, so nobody trusts us, The system is totally corrupt, when my own men were monitoring male tigers in the late 70's we found there was only one left in the park, yet at the same time the government was boasting what a success the programme was. When I went to the press about this, I suddenly was told by the government that my house we had been living in for years was illegal so they came and knocked it down. Charities give the park officials vehicles, and now I see the politician's wives are using the vehicles to drop their kids off at school!

(The Pakratik Society. Interview. 25 July 2007)

Nicole Bolomi, Project Specialist for UNESCO Delhi, provided an insight into the 'international' view of development and heritage protection in India:

The main challenges are urbanisation, loss of traditional knowledge, bureaucracy, and very much corruption. ASI is very slowly changing, but despite this NGO's are still having to operate because it is only these people who can bypass the bureaucracy and sometimes corruption, but you have to be very careful and be aware that these NGO's have their own agenda. They are often mini-fiefdoms of wealthy Indians looking for a purpose in life (...) major egos are involved. As of yet I am not aware of any heritage or cultural project in India that has successfully integrated the community. (Bolomi. Interview. 21 July 2007)

Critical Analysis

As of yet, *Volume I Integrated Management Plan* does not contain an actual plan of action for the site. Instead, it lays out the current management structure and the future proposal for a *further twenty-one* sub-plans detailing all manner of site management. These include themes such as; interpretation, sewage, vernacular building, social infrastructure and welfare, housing and transport etc. Rather than being the sole responsibility of the HWHMA, these plans are to be farmed out and executed by a wide range of agencies, including; Department of Tourism, ASI, Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Karnataka, Hospet Urban Development Authority, District Commissioners Office, Karnataka Housing Board, Chief Conservator of Forests, and the Deputy Environment Officer.

Reviewing the Hampi IMP as it stands reveals a complexity embedded in the very processes of the IMP creation and in general, heritage management for Hampi. The complex nature of the IMP, its lengthy preparation time, lack of structure and repetitiveness have been acknowledged by ICOMOS as 'regrettable' (ICOMOS 2007:18).

Community involvement is mentioned throughout the document, however, as mentioned previously contains no plans as such. Therefore, establishing the levels of community involvement in the IMP can only be based on this, and the subsequent meetings which have recently taken place in Hospet.

These meetings took place in a situation alien to most of the inhabitants of Hampi WHS. On the basis of the mistrust and communication breakdowns highlighted by the Anegundi community and TKT, is it any surprise the stakeholder meetings in Hospet were undersubscribed? Travelling to Hospet requires crossing the Tungabhadra by coracle, followed by a forty minute road journey by private rickshaw as no public transport exists on this route – in total costing approximately 350 rupees – equivalent to one week's wage of a labourer. In addition to this, the presence of local state 'elites' can only repress voices, as was clearly established in the *panchayat* meetings held in Anegundi. If the youth or other

non-*panchayat* members are hesitant to voice their concerns on their own territory, what hope is there for them in an alien situation with politicians and press assembled?

The IMP has been created purely to fulfil UNESCO requirements, therefore, in its creation it has made reference to and 'ticked the box' regarding community involvement. Proposed methods so far are non-existent bar a mention of stakeholder meetings, which have been shown to be insubstantial.

In direct comparison with UNESCO recommendations for management plans, the Hampi IMP can be seen to provide less than the suggested elements:

UNESCO Operational Guidelines for Management Planning:	Hampi IMP
(a) a thorough shared understanding of the property by all stakeholders;	The stakeholders have yet to be defined, let alone their understanding taken into account.
(b) a cycle of planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and feedback;	These factors are mentioned, but without exact specifications.
(c) the involvement of partners and stakeholders;	Partial. Some stakeholders have been accommodated, but are limited to state and national government 'elites'.
(d) the allocation of necessary resources;	The HWHMA are grossly under-funded and awaiting approval from ICOMOS for further funding later this year.
(e) capacity building; and	No mention of such in the IMP.
(f) an accountable, transparent description of how the management system functions.	The IMP management system is put forward, however in a somewhat haphazard and incoherent manner.

Table.2 Comparison of UNESCO and Hampi IMP

By looking away from UNESCO policy towards developed community heritage discourse we see that simply acknowledging the community through superficial practices is not enough, '...an external experience cannot be successfully integrated by mere adoption, but needs to be reinterpreted through the filter of society's cultural identity and value system' (Kreps 2003:117). If this theory were to be applied to Hampi, it would entail a complete assessment of the social hierarchies existing, and create a plan of involvement which would allow voices to be heard at all levels. As Smith points out, 'any attempts at engaging with community must take into account the power relations that underlie the dominant heritage

discourse' (Smith 2006:105). As necessary as this appears to be in India, the incorporation of such practices at Hampi are insufficient.

The views of ASI and UNESCO in Delhi highlighted the difficulties of including all groups in projects, and stressing that the greatest threats to Indian heritage are development and overpopulation and perceived views of 'good development'— a view which is highly subscribed elsewhere (Allchin 1989; Gadgil 1989; Thapar 1989; Shrimali 1998; Guha-Thakurta 2004; Bapat 2005; Engelhardt 2006). A perfect example from Anegundi being the immense suspension bridge constructed not only within the core zone, but also built within yards - and in fact on top - of various ancient monuments, which was perceived by the local communities and state planners to be 'good development' but regarded as a categorical disaster by ICOMOS and UNESCO.

This disparity of development aspirations has been acknowledged by UNESCO through its project 'Integrated Community Development and Cultural Heritage Preservation in Asia and the Pacific through Local Effort' (LEAP), which will allow communities to make a successful economic 'leap' into the future using conservation and development of local heritage as the springboard (Engelhardt 2003), 'In this process local actors are encouraged to assume an active stewardship over the heritage and are empowered to develop that heritage in a responsible, profitable and sustainable manner' Engelhardt 2003:2). In order for this to be successful, the LEAP project proposes a ten-step process for community involvement and empowerment, which are intended for wide replication throughout the region, which also make useful benchmarks for Hampi:

- **Step 1** Activities which promote a stewardship ethic and community participation in historic conservation.
- **Step 2** Hands-on training involving local town and neighbourhood managers to develop gazetting, zoning and environmental management plans for both preservation and development of historic sites.
- **Step 3** Training and support activities to identify pilot projects within the community through community-based participatory research work.
- **Step 4** Research, development and training in low-cost, traditionally-appropriate and historically-accurate techniques for building maintenance and restoration.
- **Step 5** Reviving the use of traditional building and associated trades necessary for the maintenance of historic buildings in an authentic manner.

- **Step 6** Promotion and training to preserve artisan skills and other intangible cultural activities which have potential market appeal and can be developed into income-generating professions.
- **Step 7** Training and promotion of community-based and –controlled tourism industry-related occupations grounded in the accurate interpretation of the unique local culture, history and environment.
- **Step 8** Assistance in curriculum development for both formal and non-formal education in local history, heritage conservation and small business management skills in the culture industries.
- **Step 9** Assistance to access revolving soft loans and micro-credits for conservation, maintenance and business development.
- **Step 10** Creating networks for the exchange of technical information among site managers and town planners . (UNESCO 2005).

Admittedly ambitious (Engelhardt 2003:4), the LEAP project places reliance on the 'traditional systems' which assumes that these systems still exist or are known, or that the local communities *want* to take part.

As endorsed by the Anegundi community, they do indeed care about their heritage, but they do not aspire to be the caretakers – a general consensus was noticed that, in fact, they would prefer external agencies to provide the requisite attention to the site. Three main aspirations of the community were realised during the research period, none of which concerned the heritage site; they wish for 24 hour electricity, decent sanitation and completion of the bridge. Any aspiration expressed relating to income or employment involved leaving the village in search of jobs in IT or civil service – both of which in India bestow a great deal of kudos.

One of main factors of the ten step LEAP process is the theory of empowerment, 'through training and support', as requisites of the engagement process. From reviewing the setting and context of the Hampi stakeholder meetings it is clear these factors are not met. Additionally, the IMP makes no mention of future proposals of community empowerment or education.

Critically however, it was shown through TKT Tourism Workshop proposal that even though education and support were offered there was no subscription. Therefore this begs

the question, if the HWHMA *had* offered education or 'safe' spaces for meetings, would these have been subscribed?

Comparing the activities of HWHMA to the LEAP process indicates that partial efforts are made on some of these points, but by and large most factors have been completely neglected. Why is this the case? I propose several reasons;

- Lack of resources – financial and manpower (for both TKT and HWHMA);
- Insufficient professional know-how within HWHMA IMP team (no social/anthropological staff, and the entire team comprised of Architectural Conservation graduates from the same course);
- Lack of communication between communities and HWHMA;
- Mistrust and lack of respect between agencies at all levels – international, national and local;
- Lack of will on behalf of the communities (perhaps based on ignorance of the potential of the site and personal aspirations);
- Structure of the Hampi IMP. Due to the sheer size and complexity of the plan it has been indicated⁵ that certain international agencies reviewing the process have “not bothered” to read it and “probably never will”.
- Bureaucratic ties and corruption – NGO's often cannot operate legally without embroiling themselves in state systems which are lengthy, and has been indicated, require further funds to 'ease the process', and HWHMA, which has to work in conjunction with a range of government departments, often finds itself enmeshed in often conflicting state vs. national policy.

Through personal communication, it is clear that HWHMA is fully aware of the LEAP project, however, I fear that personal agendas within the organisation are also creating obstacles to a wider perspective. The IMP is devised around a tripartite management

⁵ Unnamed source, from interview 22 July 2007.

structure 'invented' by the creators of the IMP, which it is proposed 'will create the format for all future heritage management in India, and perhaps worldwide' (Thakur 2006:4). This plan of management is currently being widely disseminated throughout India and in international journals, and attempts at criticism or questioning of such have resulted in fervent rebuttals and dismissal. This attitude, I fear, can only blinker the potential view and scope for the management of Hampi.

Conclusions and Recommendations

In light of disclosed findings it is apparent that a range of issues are at play within HWHMA which has led to an IMP which to say the best is complicated and drawn out – the Hampi IMP is on average ten times longer than other reviewed heritage management plans for World Heritage sites, not including its appendices of another two hundred-odd pages

In order for a management plan to be useful, it needs to be readable. Also, it needs to commit to plans and lay out time-frames for proposals. Instead, the Hampi IMP proposes a vast number of future sub-plans with no time frame or consideration of the capacity of staff to carry out said plans. For example, the plan for stakeholder engagement will be implemented by a landscape architect.

From an 'international' perspective it is easy to criticise the Hampi IMP - but this is short-sighted. If we were to view the IMP from an Indian perspective, we would find it forward thinking, inclusive, democratic and somewhat revolutionary. Whilst the intentions for incorporating wider values and the community are laudable, at present, they are still virtually impossible for a vast and complicated site like Hampi with a managing agency on a limited budget with only five members of staff.

Increased national resources for heritage have to be the result in a change in government policy. In order for magnificent sites such as Hampi to fulfil their potential, attitudes at a higher level need to change. But how can resources be moved towards heritage when India suffers from rampant poverty, inadequate infrastructure and nuclear aspirations. It is commonly perceived that heritage is 'good' and provides 'cultural development', but how much does this matter on an empty stomach? How can rural communities be expected to take time away from their subsistence living to attend stakeholder meetings?

The answer to this *does* lie in community involvement in heritage management, but based on empowerment – not acknowledgement or token attempts. This can only happen through an understanding of the communities, learning what their aspirations and

limitations are, and providing options for them which will allow them to be self sufficient. If a community is provided the power and capabilities to manage their own lives in conjunction with their heritage, a truly sustainable paradigm can be achieved.

In order to address the dichotomous systems, I propose some recommendations for Hampi, and perhaps India in general, which are based on some basic assumptions:

- i) The Indian heritage industry is *not* going to see an increase in Government funding in the near future;
- ii) The complexity of state and national policy and bureaucracy is *not* going to alter;
- iii) Hampi will *continue in the long term* to be a significant site by international and national standards;
- iv) The number of stakeholders will always remain high, and encompass a complex range of relationships and values;
- v) Future development pressures on the site will increase.

The absolute basis for the following recommendations is a reassessment of timeframes through the development of a long-view paradigm, acknowledging that decades, rather than months or years are required for real change. This will create a move away from the current superficial 'box-ticking' methods towards preventive action. It is also noted that because these plans incorporate a long-term view the need for short term mitigation or 'damage control' plans are still required – to this end the current IMP may have a role to play. The recommendations are as follows:

- i) A long-term shift in the education of experts *and* the community is required, which acknowledges the benefits of dialogue and trust.
- ii) Experts and communities need to be empowered through knowledge of sustainable heritage practices, which, in the long term place less pressure on the site and monuments. This will include a reassessment of development perceptions, enabling self sufficiency, re-acquaintance of vernacular building technologies, reviewing agricultural practices, and

promotion of cultural activities. This would form part of an overall sustainable development strategy for the region. Their implementation could be realised through pilot-projects (such as that of TKT), school education, internet resources and publications.

iii) Results of above efforts need to be disseminated to government agencies (including ASI and state planners) and educational institutes concerned with heritage, as a form of cyclical information gathering and sharing, to be used as tools for research and education of future heritage professionals.

Embedded within these recommendations are a range of interdependent factors, which may be tackled separately or in parallel. However, when considered in their entirety, they can contribute positively to 'levelling the field' between stakeholders, and developing communities who are not reliant on external support or aid. Only once this basis has been reached, can the communities truly have the power to play a meaningful role in their management of Hampi WHS.

In addition to this, the World Heritage Convention, whilst trying to be accommodating, still needs to assess its applicability. The recommendations anchored in their policy are not realistic and do not address heritage situations world-wide, which is in fact, their ultimate goal.

Sustainable heritage by its very nature requires diversity – a diversity created by the communities and the incorporation of a wide range of values. This may appear to be ideological, and it is. The reality of such concepts is a great challenge, and especially so in India. As acknowledged by ASI and UNESCO in Delhi, no such community integrated heritage projects are known in India. If and when a successful community integration programme has been completed in India, I suspect that it will only occur within a sustainable development based approach.

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